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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 16 June 1992, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. ACHARYA (Nepal)

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Struggling People of South Africa

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

SOLEMN MEETING IN OBSERVANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE
STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I should like to welcome the President of the Security Council, His Excellency Mr. Paul Noterdaeme; the Vice-President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Hamadi Khouini; the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. James Jonah; and the representatives of Member States.

I would also like to welcome our special guests, Mr. Khaogeso Legoro of the African National Congress of South Africa and Mr. Carter Seleka of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. I welcome also representatives of non-governmental organizations.

We also have among us today two other prominent South Africans, who are participating in this solemn meeting: the Reverend Bayers Naude of the Ecumenical Advice Bureau, and Mr. Tobeko Makabela, National Director of the South African Legal Defence Fund.

I thank all participants for responding positively to our invitation to attend the meeting today.

This year's observance marks the sixteenth anniversary of the student demonstrations in Soweto and in other townships in South Africa. Despite the peaceful nature of the demonstrations, the South African police, on 16 June 1976, opened fire, killing hundreds and wounding and maiming many more, including innocent school children. Yet the demonstrators were demanding nothing more than less crowded schools, better qualified teachers, more adequate facilities and the right to choose the medium of instruction for black students.

(The Chairman)

In its resolution 31/6 I, the General Assembly, appalled at this flagrant and savage attack, proclaimed 16 June, also known as Soweto Day, as the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, and called upon Member States to observe the day in a fitting way. We observe this Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa to renew our commitment to the support of their just cause with a view to enhancing the process of eliminating apartheid.

As we take stock of developments in South Africa, we realize that the protracted struggle of its people and unstinting support by the international community have brought important changes. We draw encouragement from seeing a broad spectrum of representatives of that society engaged in intensive negotiations to evolve viable arrangements for the democratic transformation of the country.

However, we are concerned over the difficulty that is hampering progress towards agreements for the creation of an interim government and the mechanism for drawing up a new constitution. In particular, we share the strong view that the violence which continues to threaten the ongoing political process needs to be speedily and effectively addressed in order for the process to move forward.

Even as we meet today, we hear disturbing reports in the media, including The New York Times, of gunmen shooting and killing 14 innocent black people near Johannesburg only yesterday at a railway station, a bus stop and in other public places.

(The Chairman)

As we solemnly observe this Soweto Day, it will be a fitting tribute to the victims of apartheid for us to reaffirm our resolve to assist the people of South Africa to overcome the obstacles on their way to forge the basis for a democratic order based on justice and social progress for all.

Before we proceed with the programme of the day, I invite all present to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the Soweto massacre and all the others who have fallen and continue to fall because of apartheid.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure and honour to invite His Excellency Mr. Paul Noterdaeme, President of the Security Council, to address the meeting.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium), President of the Security Council (interpretation from French): Permit me first of all, Mr. Chairman, to thank you and the other members of the Special Committee for inviting me, in my capacity as President of the Security Council, to participate in the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa: Sowet Day.

This observance recalls the tragedy that befell the people of South Africa on 16 June 1976. That tragedy aroused both the indignation of the international community and its resolve to spare no effort towards the dismantling of the apartheid system in South Africa and the establishment of a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed, would enjoy equal and full political and other rights and participate freely in the determination of their destiny.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, President of
the Security Council)

To that end, the members of the Council firmly encourage the ongoing process towards democratization undertaken by the Conventions for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I and CODESA II). While the failure to reach final agreement at CODESA II is a cause of concern, the members of the Council welcome the commitment of the parties to continue discussion to resolve outstanding difficulties and to bring about the fundamental elements for the peaceful establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The members of the Council call upon all concerned to address the violence that continues unabated in South Africa. Consolidation of the progress achieved to date will be considerably enhanced by the reduction and speedy elimination of violence in the country. The members of the Council urge the international community to extend every assistance towards the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa in which fundamental human rights for all are guaranteed. The Security Council will continue to fulfil its role in that regard in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mr. Hamadi Khouini, Vice-President of the General Assembly, to make a statement on behalf of the President of the General Assembly.

Mr. KHOUINI (Tunisia), Vice-President of the General Assembly (interpretation from Arabic): It is my honour to make a statement on behalf of the President of the General Assembly.

(spoke in English)

"I have the honour to join members of the Special Committee against Apartheid as they observe this International Day of Solidarity with the

(Mr. Khouini, Vice-President
of the General Assembly)

Struggling People of South Africa. The symbolism of this day - Soweto Day - is one that is profoundly felt not only inside South Africa, but also in the whole continent and, indeed, throughout the world.

"Today, as we reaffirm our solidarity with the people of that country, especially those long disenfranchised by apartheid, we cannot but feel a sense of hope. It is the hope of the South African, a hope we all share, that in the not-too-distant future South Africa will finally become the non-racial democracy we have all been looking for. A lot of hard and courageous work has gone into the present political process in South Africa. South Africans and members of the international community alike have worked towards this goal, forging a partnership that aspires to transform the existing political system into a foundation for a long-lasting and peaceful democratic order in South Africa.

"Nevertheless, political progress has not been easy. As characterized by the difficulties encountered by CODESA in resolving the deadlock on issues related to the constitution-making process. This particular setback has further been compounded by a pervasive atmosphere of violence.

"As we observe this day, we can hardly forget that it is also a memorial day for the victims of the Soweto massacre. This realization alone must give us pause. For many years, it seemed that violence and counter-violence were the only means of sustaining or eradicating apartheid. Time proved this notion to be wrong; yet, as we all herald a new South Africa founded on peace and through genuine negotiations, we confront yet a spate of violence. The international community has to insist that an atmosphere of violence is not conducive to negotiations.

(Mr. Khouini, Vice-President
of the General Assembly)

It creates fear, distrust and instability, and it generally disrupts an atmosphere essential for the free political activity necessary to a new democratic order.

"The theme of today's observance is solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa. As we observe it, let us reaffirm our commitment to assist both those in leadership positions and those involved in the negotiations in every way possible so that they can attain their goal of peacefully ending apartheid. But more importantly, we cannot forget the needs and aspirations of the majority of the population that has long suffered from the plight of political and economic deprivations. This is a time of great need for the people of South Africa - a time of want of housing, food, education, health care, and employment. These problems, the hallmarks of socio-economic inequalities created by apartheid, have been further compounded by a drought situation. They can only be concretely addressed through tangible assistance.

"As members of the international community, our responsibility to South Africans cannot be limited to political exhortations. Their basic social welfare needs must be addressed. As we mark this day, let us remember those who live but still suffer political, social and economic deprivation due to the legacies of apartheid. They need both our moral and material solidarity."

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour and pleasure to invite the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. James Jonah, to read the statement of the Secretary-General.

Mr. JONAH (Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs): The Secretary-General has asked me to read the following statement on his behalf.

"This year, the International Day of Solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa is being observed at a time of far-reaching developments in South Africa. While these developments have on the whole been positive, some differences have emerged from the recent negotiations for the establishment of a united, non-racial democratic South Africa.

"In order to facilitate the establishment of the new South Africa, agreement must be reached, as a matter of urgency, on the arrangements for the transitional period, including an interim government. What is of paramount importance is to ensure that the differences that exist not be allowed to undermine the progress achieved so far. All concerned must make every effort to maintain the momentum of the CODESA negotiating process in order to finalize agreement on the outstanding issues. It is my fervent hope that all efforts will be made in the negotiations to reach final agreement on the transitional arrangements.

"The persistent violence which continues to claim the lives of innocent South Africans must end without further delay. Violence serves no useful political end and most certainly is not conducive to peace and stability. I urge all concerned to cooperate in order to put an end to the violence.

"Today, we meet to reaffirm our solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa. As we do so, we must also continue to encourage the parties to the negotiations to redouble their efforts to ensure that the process they are engaged in will result in decisions that will effectively address the remaining difficulties and also enjoy the confidence and support of all sectors of South African society.

(Mr. Jonah, Under-Secretary-
General for Political Affairs)

"The United Nations will continue to seek creative ways to assist South Africans in the full realization of the goals that they have set for themselves, goals which the United Nations General Assembly called for in its 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. In line with that Declaration and other relevant resolutions, the solidarity of the international community with the people of South Africa must encompass political support, both to help sustain the drive towards a non-racial democracy, and to assist in addressing socio-economic issues, in order to help ameliorate the difficulties created by the long practice of apartheid.

"In building and consolidating a new non-racial and democratic South Africa, the help of the international community will be needed so as to enhance the prospects for peace, progress and stability there during the transitional period and beyond. In this connection, I am pleased to note that the Organization has been active, through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, through its trust funds for southern Africa, and the network of specialized agencies, respectively, in facilitating the return of South African exiles, in reintegrating former political prisoners into South African society, in providing educational and training assistance to disadvantaged South Africans and in preparing for a concerted system-wide response to ways in which the economic and social disparities can be redressed.

"We must remain steadfast in our commitment to the objectives of the Declaration in order to ensure a non-racial democratic order in South Africa. The people of South Africa have progressed a long way in this regard, and this should be recognized. The international community must

(Mr. Jonah, Under-Secretary-
General for Political Affairs)

continue to support their efforts to build a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa."

The CHAIRMAN: I should now like to make a statement on behalf of the Special Committee Against Apartheid.

"Today we observe once again the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. This year's observance is remarkable for several reasons.

"First, it is taking place against the backdrop of a dynamic political atmosphere, an atmosphere marked by progress and hope but also tempered by violence and related anxieties. Nevertheless, we in the Special Committee Against Apartheid have welcomed and continued to support the political processes that led to the convening of CODESA. We recognize and have consistently acknowledged that CODESA is reflective of the political framework and modalities envisaged by the General Assembly in the 1989 Consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its destructive consequences in South Africa. Mindful of this, the Special Committee is concerned that certain difficulties relating to constitution-making have made it impossible for CODESA to move within the time-frame initially envisaged towards setting up an interim government. CODESA remains, however, in the view of the Special Committee, a viable forum for bringing together a broad spectrum of representatives of the South African people with the objective of evolving a new, non-racial democratic order in South Africa.

"Apart from the difficulties that CODESA currently faces, other problems are clearly discernible. The problem of political violence continues unabated. The negative impact and uncertainties it creates are

(The Chairman)

in no way helpful either to the peace process or to the general welfare and stability of the South African nation. Similarly, though South Africans are now fully seized of discussing the matters affecting them, issues such as the release of remaining political prisoners and the return and resettling of political exiles have not yet been resolved. By the same token, the glaring socioeconomic inequalities in that country have yet to be adequately addressed.

"All these outstanding issues, which constitute vital elements of a negotiation package, have to be addressed exhaustively before South Africa can embark on the full realization of a non-racial democracy. Their existence poses a fundamental challenge to both the present leadership and the leaders of the mass democratic movements that will soon grapple with the exigencies of the State. The challenge thus goes well beyond that of procedure and differences of opinion. These problems, particularly the worsening violence, have the capacity to stall the political process, if not totally undermine the march toward a non-racial democracy in South Africa. This cannot be allowed to happen, considering all the efforts made so far by South Africans with the support of the international community to bring peacefully to South Africa a new, non-racial democratic system.

"It would be an understatement to say that the challenge ahead is awesome. South Africans of all races have expressed in their majority the desire to negotiate an enduring solution to their problems. Collectively, they have entrusted their leadership and representatives with the responsibility of finding amicable, long-lasting and generally acceptable modalities for the new South Africa. Their desires and

(The Chairman)

aspirations have been embraced and supported by the international community and particularly by our Organization, the United Nations, but this show of good faith by the majority seems unsatisfactory to a few. Hence, we encounter those sinister and invisible forces determined to upset the peace process through increasing acts of violence against innocent people.

"We in the Special Committee have for long held the view that the prevalence of peace is an essential condition for free political activity towards the evolution of a new democratic and non-racial order. We also firmly hope that all South Africans will join the ongoing negotiation process in the interest of consolidating the gains of the struggle and to enhance the building of a just society. We have also acknowledged the need to continue the search for ways of engendering the effort required to address the glaring socio-economic problems faced by the vast majority of the people of South Africa. The recent drought situation has only compounded these problems and makes an international response even more compelling.

"Given these realities, today's observance should serve primarily as a vehicle for the people of the world to reaffirm their commitment to assist South Africans in realizing their national aspirations. Whereas there are varying forms of solidarity that can be expressed today towards South Africans, I believe that the most pertinent will be that which recognizes the imperative responsibility of the international community to remain vigilant and to continue to monitor carefully the critical situation in South Africa. This is the crucial moment - the moment of realization, the moment of truth. Despite the enormous progress that has

(The Chairman)

been made, South Africa's fate hangs in the balance. It is our responsibility to help ensure that that nation is not pushed over the precipice by forces opposed to peace and democracy.

"While this day serves as a fitting memorial for the dead - particularly victims of the Soweto massacre - it must also serve as a reminder that the living and survivors of apartheid must be given a new opportunity to make their lives meaningful and different from the past. We must continue to lend them a hand of friendship and support until peace, social justice, equality and true democracy reign in that country."

(The Chairman)

I now have the pleasure to welcome Mr. Khaogeso Legoro of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. LEGORO (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): It is a singular honour and privilege for me, on behalf of the African National Congress, and indeed in the name of the struggling people of South Africa, to address this solemn meeting in observance of 16 June, the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, known as South African Youth Day in our country.

It was on this day, 16 years ago, that the South African security forces brutally suppressed a peaceful students' demonstration in Soweto. Hundreds of school children were massacred. The Soweto massacre ignited other parts of the country, like Gugulethu, Mamelodi and Langa townships, into militant centres of student uprisings. Since 1976, the youth of our country have played a critical role in the resistance against apartheid. We in the African National Congress join hands with the international community in paying special tribute to victims of this day.

Allow me to convey the appreciation of the African National Congress for the messages of support and solidarity with our people delivered by the speakers who have intervened before us just now. We would also like to register our profound gratitude to the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, from whom our people have received unwavering support over the past years. We are also indebted to the personnel of the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid for their tireless efforts in sensitizing the international community to the plight of our people under apartheid.

(Mr. Legoro, ANC)

Internationally and inside South Africa itself there has been much effort carried out, over the past two years, in the search for a negotiated settlement to the South African conflict. This process culminated in the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa, best known as CODESA, which was held on 20 and 21 December 1991. CODESA established five working groups, each of which has representatives from the 19 organizations participating in the process.

The working groups have been in regular session from February 1992 until their reports were presented to CODESA II on 15 and 16 May 1992. Broad agreements were reached by all parties on many issues. Central among these was that it would be necessary for an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition from apartheid to democracy. The transition would be carried out in two phases.

The first phase would see the appointment of a transitional executive council to oversee the process leading to free and fair elections of a national assembly, which would be entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution.

The second phase would come into being after the democratic elections. The elected national assembly would have two functions: firstly, to sit as a constitution-making body where decisions would be taken by a two-thirds majority; and secondly, to serve as a legislature, for the purpose of government, where issues would be decided by a simple majority.

This is where difficulties arose, as there were serious differences between the ANC and the constitution-making body. The Government had its own views on the issue of the constitution-making body. It proposed: an unacceptably high percentage, 75 per cent, to decide on all constitutional

(Mr. Legoro, ANC)

matters; entrenched regional and local boundaries; powers to be determined in the interim which would be binding on the future democratic constitution; and an undemocratic and unelected senate with veto powers over the democratically elected national assembly. The gist of the Government's argument is that the new constitution should guarantee the rights of minorities, in this case, those of the whites.

The situation in South Africa is increasingly comparable with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews. In South Africa today, our people are massacred simply because they are black. The question of violence has become a serious obstacle to finding a genuine peaceful solution to our conflict. An unprecedented campaign of murder and destruction against our people continues unabated in the townships and villages of our country. All investigations point to the centrality of the South African security apparatus as the perpetrators of violence. It is for this reason that all attempts thus far to stop the violence, including the national peace accord, have failed.

In an effort to bring a final end to this senseless carnage, a number of commissions and organizations have come forward with recommendations. The International Commission of Jurists, the Community Agency for Social Equity and the Human Rights Commission have suggested the following steps: rapid progress towards instituting an accountable interim government centralizing a unitary South Africa; control of the security forces to be removed from the present Government and passed to CODESA and then to the interim government; the speedy integration of the security forces with those of the liberation movements; acceptance of the principle of the accountability of the security forces; the development of community policing; an enforced ban on the carrying

(Mr. Legoro, ANC)

of all weapons in public places; the rigorous pursuit and prosecution of all those involved in the violence, including members of the security forces; the establishment of a public judicial enquiry with sufficient scope and power to investigate the causes of violence and prosecute those found responsible; and a dramatic increase in development and infrastructural finance for those South Africans against whom apartheid was aimed.

(Mr. Legoro, ANC)

We entirely support the argument stated above; it will, in our view, contribute significantly to the reduction of the violence. We would also like to appeal to the international community to send monitoring teams to South Africa to investigate the violence. This will help place the perpetrators under the spotlight for all the world to see.

We wish to thank the Organization of African Unity, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and other international organisations monitoring violence in South Africa. We also thank the Danish Government for raising, with the European Community Council, the importance of sending a fact-finding team to South Africa. We hope that they will treat this issue with the urgency it deserves.

Let me seize this opportunity to inform you of a bill submitted last week in Parliament in our country. This bill gives the police unlimited powers to break into people's homes and organizations' offices, with the purpose of bugging them and tapping telephone lines. It goes on further to allow the police to intercept mail. This bill is an indication of the return to the old apartheid order, in which the police have enormous powers against the citizens. This proposed bill is once again unilaterally presented, disregarding the very negotiations at CODESA to which the Government and the National Party claim to be committed. It seeks to place on the statute books the type of legislation the African National Congress and the international community have fought so hard to remove. We are once again reminded by these actions that the changes are not yet irreversible. Clearly, there is a need to exercise vigilance. For this reason, it is vital that pressure against the apartheid regime be maintained.

(Mr. Legoro, ANC)

Let me briefly outline the African National Congress's perspective on the way forward. We are the architect of CODESA, and it is our responsibility to ensure that the negotiation process under the auspices of CODESA is successful. We will therefore continue to make our humble contribution to the process.

We have started to mobilize our people for mass action. In view of the failure of CODESA II, this is the only option left to our people. We have set out an action programme of peaceful marches, demonstrations, consumer boycotts, stay-aways and other forms of peaceful struggle. We regard these as our democratic rights. We will carry out our programme of action unless the Government heeds the popular demand for the installation of an interim government before the end of this month.

In conclusion, let me convey our warm and fraternal greetings to the people of Palestine under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). Let me also use this forum to wish the Chairman of the PLO a speedy recovery from the tragic injury he sustained in the plane crash in Libya. We also reiterate our solidarity with the people of Western Sahara led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (POLISARIO) and hope that the resolution of their respective problems will contribute to world peace and and security.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure to welcome Dr. S. Pheko of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. PHEKO (Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): On behalf of the unconquerable Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, I should like to express deep appreciation to the Special Committee Against Apartheid for organising this event. I should also like to express gratitude to the United Nations for all the assistance it has given and will continue to give to our struggle. We

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

are confident that the United Nations and the international community as a whole will not abandon the victims of apartheid until there is profound and irreversible change in South Africa.

Like the Sharpeville uprising of 21 March 1960, the Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976 is an historic watershed. It demonstrated the determination of the youth of our country, Azania, to liberate themselves. This was a unique uprising. On that day the youth of Azania defied the guns and tanks of the South African apartheid colonialist regime. They demanded better education. They rejected Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor, as a medium of instruction in their schools. They demanded their land. They shouted "Viva Azania! Viva!" as the bullets of the oppressor mercilessly tore their tender bodies. Over one thousand youths perished on 16 June. Their blood, like the blood of all our martyrs, watered the tree of our ultimate liberty.

We of the PAC, as custodians of the true national aspirations of our dispossessed people, know that freedom is not a cheap commodity. It will not fall from heaven like manna. Our founding fathers taught us that whereas others may help us in our struggle, in the final analysis we are our own liberators.

It is important on this occasion once again to remind this assemblage that the Soweto uprising was led by the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania and the Black Consciousness Movement. Sentencing the late PAC President Zephania Mothopeng to a term of 30 years' imprisonment, the South African regime's Judge Curlewis said, "You (Mothopeng) acted to sow seeds of anarchy and revolution. The riots you had engineered and predicted eventually took place."

(Mr. Phoko, PAC)

But the 16 June revolt, popularly known as the Soweto uprising, had a political and historical significance. In 1976 Professor Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, that political giant of South African politics in this century, said,

"In the Sharpeville uprising we overcame the fear and consequences of disobeying colonial laws. It became respectable to go to jail and emerge as what Kwame Nkrumah called 'prison graduates'. We stripped our oppressors of that weapon. The oppressor now in Soweto had to fall back on his ultimate weapon, the gun. Soweto has been a lesson in overcoming the fear of the gun."

That was very prophetic. In 1989 the South African regime thought of a trick that was neither jail nor open use of the gun. The regime talked about negotiations. But by negotiations it meant co-option, collusion and the collaboration of dispossessed Africans in their own oppression. The regime created its own forum, CODESA. While Mr. De Klerk pretends to speak of peace at the so-called CODESA, he has unleashed his forces to attack, maim and kill defenceless children, women and men in their sleep.

The South African regime and its backers call this genocidal violence "black-on-black violence". But there is evidence that this genocide is orchestrated by De Klerk's regime. This genocide, in which 15 people die every day, is carried out 365 days a year through the South African Army, the CCB death Squads, Buffalo Battalion 32, Koevoets mercenaries, Renamo elements, Selous Scouts and Askaris.

When the National Peace Accord was signed with fanfare and the usual euphoria over "many positive changes" in South Africa, the PAC, though not involved in violence against other Africans and though it has tried to mediate between Inkatha and the African National Congress of Azania (ANC), supported

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

the principle of ending the senseless carnage. The PAC, however, at that very time pointed out that the accord did not address the root cause of the violence, namely, the presence of mercenaries in South Africa. The South African regime previously used these mercenaries to destabilize frontline States. PAC has demanded the verifiable expulsion from the country of these genocide squads that kill innocent people, including women and children, in trains, buses and everywhere else, indiscriminately and in the most systematic and premeditated manner.

On 14 September 1991, PAC asked the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations to establish an international commission to investigate the source of violence in South Africa. The violence is aimed at reducing the African population. The disease of AIDS is also being spread in the African community for this purpose while the secret sterilization of African women also takes place in many clinics. This is done by white nurses. This is happening against the background of a massive recruitment of whites, especially from Eastern European countries.

The genocidal violence has become worse in South Africa. Even the churches there now agree with PAC that an international commission must be appointed to investigate and monitor the violence in South Africa. PAC President, Mr. Clarence M. Makwetu, took up this matter again with the Organization of African Unity Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa on 28 April 1992 in Arusha, Tanzania. That Committee, in response to the PAC request, visited South Africa on 8 May 1992. The OAU team was composed of Algeria, Congo, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

(Mr. Phoko, PAC)

In welcoming the OAU team to Azania - South Africa - on 8 May 1992, the PAC Secretary-General, Mr. Benny Alexander, reminded the investigating group of the reasons for its being invited into the country. He said that:

"The PAC has always treasured the active involvement of the OAU in our struggle for national liberation and self-determination... . The killing of the oppressed and dispossessed African people is a very emotional issue in this country, hence the high expectations by the oppressed masses about this OAU visit."

Two days before the convening of the so-called CODESA II, several sources revealed that the South African regime had been involved not only in wide-spread corruption in key Government departments but that its top-level officials had assassinated many opponents of apartheid and colonialism. Among those assassinated during the month of May 1992 was an ex-political prisoner, Mr. Jan Shoba. He was a member of PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. He was also the bodyguard of the PAC leader, President Clarence M. Makwetu. Mr Shoba's assassination has inflamed anger among our people, especially the youth.

The genocidal violence that is taking place in South Africa is not an accident. It is not a coincidence. It is a premeditated strategy to destroy Africans in their own country. It is a holocaust which the United Nations must address urgently. The so-called "positive changes" in South Africa have become a field of rotting corpses, weeping orphans and widows.

After De Klerk's much misunderstood and misinterpreted referendum of 17 March 1992, the regime has shown that it is on a warpath to preserve apartheid in a new complexion and to continue its genocide. After this referendum, the regime budgeted 11.164 billion Rand for its army. Five billion rand of this was allocated for secret operations and are not subject

(Mr. Phoko, PAC)

to audit. Meanwhile ordinary whites in South Africa have 2.5 million guns. Some have as many as 28 licensed guns each. The violence in South Africa no longer needs mere talk, but action by OAU and the United Nations if Africans are not to be exterminated by these forces of oppression. It must be remembered that they exterminated a section of Africans called Khoisan - Hottentots and Bushmen - two centuries ago.

Although our requests for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions were never accepted, voluntary and selective sanctions have played an important role in bringing about some changes in South Africa. But in recent months sanctions have been eroded by many countries motivated by selfish interests. They have given all kinds of excuses to justify their actions. The last countries to apply sanctions to South Africa have been the first to lift those sanctions. Many are concerned with salvaging their own economic interests by betraying the victims of apartheid. This is a dangerous move. This move has literally buried the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989. The trend has replaced this important Declaration with irrelevant extraneous elements mainly rehabilitating the genocidal South African regime, which is bent on perpetuating racist minority alien rule in our country with the assistance of collaborators.

This betrayal will not bring political stability to the country. Many people in our country already feel that they are being taken for a ride. They are planning to implement their own sanctions inside South Africa. They point out that our struggle did not start with international sanctions. The noble struggle of the dispossessed African majority shall not therefore end with the lifting of international sanctions. Only when justice has been done to the oppressed people of our beloved country Azania shall the oppressed lift their own sanctions against the South African regime.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

An impression has been deliberately conveyed that PAC does not want to negotiate with the De Klerk regime. This is propaganda spread by mischievous forces with sinister motives about genuine negotiations in our country. Obviously PAC makes a distinction between negotiations and co-option, collusion and collaboration. When the regime approached PAC for negotiations, PAC stated its conditions. The main one is that PAC will negotiate the modalities of the establishment of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly and any negotiations should take place under a neutral convener, neutral chairman and in a neutral venue.

PAC also felt that the unity of the oppressed was important before negotiations could take place with the South African regime. PAC made every effort to form a patriotic united front of the oppressed. This had the blessing of the Organization of African Unity. The OAU financed the Patriotic United Front Conference to the tune of \$250,000. The Patriotic United Front was formed in Durban in October 1991. It was given a clear mandate. The Patriotic United Front Conference stipulated that any talks with the South African regime should be under a neutral convener and at a neutral venue. The objective of the talks should centre on the modalities of setting up a democratically elected Constituent Assembly based on one person/one vote to write a new constitution dismantling apartheid and ridding the country of colonialism.

At the pre-Constituent Assembly meeting on 29 November 1991, the regime rejected the mandate given to both PAC and the Patriotic United Front. The regime also rejected the principle of a neutral convener, neutral chairmanship, and a neutral venue. The regime came up with its own agenda, CODESA. This fraudulent creation of the South African regime is attended by 14 apartheid structures and two structures from the regime itself. None of

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

the groupings in CODESA has any mandate from the oppressed, since these groupings have not acted according to the mandate of the Patriotic United Front, nor have they gone through any election exercise. It is a terminological inexactitude to say that these groupings in CODESA represent the majority.

The South African Council of Churches, in a letter to PAC Secretary-General of 22 January 1992, said:

"CODESA's legitimacy as an organ to finally prepare a Constitution which can galvanize unity and stability for this country is increasingly being put under question by those who argue for representation. This does not bode well for the future. We therefore exhort you to formulate a mechanism whereby ordinary people will elect and mandate their representatives to a forum in which the future of this country will be worked out... .

"We are also compelled to caution that the present Parliament, which is a product of the 1983 Constitution, will not be a helpful means of getting the entire spectrum of South Africa's political formations to participate in constitution-making. It should not be transformed into a constitution-making body without due regard of the view of the majority of the population."

CODESA is the most divisive factor among the African people today.

CODESA has split families, some of them very famous internationally.

(Mr. Phoko, PAC)

On 10 April PAC met the South African regime at a neutral venue, under a neutral convener, in Nigeria. This demonstrated the willingness of PAC to have genuine negotiations. It was also a victory for the majority of the oppressed in South Africa to have neutrality built into any process of political change, to free such processes from manipulation by the regime.

We are the best analysts of the South African situation. PAC therefore once again, on this solemn occasion, when we mourn our martyrs who shed their blood for our liberation, reiterates our position unequivocally. We in PAC reaffirm our demand for neutrality of convening, chairmanship and venue. Only internationally supervised, monitored, guaranteed and verified agreements, free from blatant manipulation and veto by the South African regime, will be acceptable.

The way forward for our liberation is to refuse to give legitimacy to a forum designed to frustrate our legitimate liberation goals. We must resist short-term, quick solutions in favour of a genuine process directed at creating a true democracy and capable of advancing the quest for liberation.

Through its Second Deputy President, who is also a Supreme Court advocate in South Africa, PAC gave its response to the so-called CODESA II in its press statement on 19 May this year. There are several reasons why we want a neutral venue. The first is that Azania, our country, colonially called South Africa since 20 September 1909, was never decolonized by Britain. Therefore, our national sovereignty is usurped. We have never had our right to self-determination. The South African regime has no sovereignty in our country. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) are therefore not being asked to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign

(Mr. Phoko, PAC)

State when we invite them to supervise and conduct the negotiations and internationally verify and guarantee agreements between the oppressed majority, which PAC represents, and the minority, which the South African regime represents. Secondly, two days before so-called CODESA II the regime bugged the telephones of its fellow "Codesites". The regime continues to bug telephones to listen to the secrets and strategies of its opponents.

The situation in South Africa is becoming worse. First, the South African regime never abolished the Internal Security Act; it merely amended it. Now, on 10 June 1992, the South African regime has tabled in its racist minority Parliament the Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Bill, to be law by the end of this month. This Bill gives the South African army and its secret police sweeping powers to listen to telephone conversations, bug and intercept mail. Burglary by police and the regime's army is also being legalized. This is tantamount to a state of emergency. This Bill demonstrates that Mr. de Klerk's regime is becoming more and more identical with that of Verwoerd, Vorster and P. W. Botha, and that the so-called positive changes in South Africa are a myth and at best wishful thinking.

The PAC does not subscribe to a so-called interim government controlled by the South African regime. Nor does it hold that the mere establishment of an interim government is tantamount to "profound and irreversible" change in South Africa warranting the international community's normalizing relations with South Africa. This regime has a notorious record of reneging even on small matters like the release of political prisoners. For instance, there are over 500 political prisoners in South Africa, 310 of them sentenced to death and awaiting execution. The regime wants to use the so-called

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

interim government to call off sanctions. The regime has also made provisions in CODESA to detain its political opponents without trial as well as to declare a state of emergency.

The mere appearance of black faces in an interim government would not signal the end of apartheid. It is quickly forgotten that in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, the Ian Smith-Bishop Muzorewa interim Government did not solve the fundamental problems of democratic rule. PAC rejects out of hand the idea of an interim constitution designed to confer legitimacy on the regime and prolong the existence of apartheid and suffering for our people. It is a fairy-tale by the South African regime to state that its proposed Transitional Executive Council, which will live side-by-side with the current minority racist Tricameral Parliament and Bantustan structures, long condemned by the General Assembly and by the Security Council in its resolution 554 (1984), will have executive powers. The Transitional Executive Council is equivalent to the discredited apartheid Bantustan structures.

The way forward is a democratic forum; for PAC and the majority of the oppressed an alternative forum is the only way forward. There is no need to review our position on CODESA as long as the regime resists a democratic forum for genuine negotiations. As far as PAC's bilateral discussions with the South African regime are concerned, these will be taken up with it through the OAU and the United Nations in a neutral venue. An alternative democratic forum based on the principle of neutrality, international supervision and guaranteeing of agreements must be established. There could be a coup d'état in South Africa. What would then happen to agreements that are not guaranteed - by the United Nations especially?

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The South African problem is an international problem. It involves colonialism and apartheid. Colonialism is a violation of jus cogens. For apartheid there is the 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (3068/XXVIII). Apartheid is a crime against humanity. The South African problem cannot be left to the apartheid criminals, who have clearly said that they are not leaving the stage of history. They are improving the white man's security in South Africa.

On this occasion to commemorate our martyrs, whose blood is too sacred to be exchanged for apartheid in a new complexion, we salute our Palestinian brothers and sisters. We shall always support their legitimate struggle until total victory. We thank Allah for saving their leader, Brother Yasser Arafat, in the recent air crash. His survival is a sign that the Palestinian cause and that of our beloved country - Azania - shall triumph, because it is just. It is noble. Tricks and intrigues may delay our struggle for national liberation. But they shall not stop the victory of our liberation forces.

The CHAIRMAN: I now welcome Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, representative of Palestine, and invite him to make a statement.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): Today we are observing the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day). Soweto Day commemorates an inhuman massacre of militant students in South Africa. Soweto is an African city that reminds us of the Palestinian city of Gaza. We Palestinians are speaking out today to proclaim our solidarity with the people of South Africa and our support for the democratic forces of the people in their just struggle to end the system of apartheid and establish a democratic society totally free of any kind of racial discrimination.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

As Observers, we must in this context express our great appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid for inviting us to attend this commemoration of the Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa.

Despite the difficult conditions in South Africa, there have been some positive changes: we have noted some general progress thanks to the international community's stand and to the sanctions it imposed on South Africa. All these changes took place, first and foremost, because of the struggle waged by the South African people on many fronts.

But progress is hampered by the violence imposed upon innocent civilians and by the recent killing of 18 South African militants and the injuring of others. It is undeniable that the main responsibility lies with the South African régime. We believe that, together with all democratic forces, the régime must make a major effort to put an end to this dangerous situation.

There is an increasing need for intensified efforts to devise additional measures to achieve the transition to the achievement of our goals: the release of all political detainees, the establishment of a democratic constitution and the holding of democratic elections on the basis of one person, one vote. Those measures must also help us attain our principal goal: the establishment of a democratic society in South Africa free from racism or racial oppression of the South African majority.

Today's commemoration reminds us of another event that will be held here at the United Nations tomorrow by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the occupation of Arab territories and Jerusalem. That symbolizes the joint struggle we wage along with our brothers in South Africa.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

In line with that principle I want today to congratulate all democratic forces in South Africa - the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), President Nelson Mandela - at this important stage for the South African people, a stage which we hope will lead to the realization of the legitimate aspirations of that militant people.

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard the last speaker in today's observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. Once again, I wish to express our deep appreciation to all participants for their support for and solidarity with the ongoing struggle against apartheid. I am confident that the solidarity expressed here will help advance the process of peaceful negotiations now under way, as well as contribute to the final establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa.

Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to inform participants that many Heads of State or Government, Foreign Ministers and other Government officials have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee on this occasion. The Special Committee has received messages from the following States: Bangladesh, Chile, Cuba, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nepal, Pakistan, Peru, Senegal, Suriname, Tunisia, Uganda and Venezuela.

A message has also been received from the Korean Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

I should like to suggest that in accordance with previous practice, and taking into consideration the usual financial implications, the text of those

(The Chairman)

messages be published as a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid. If there is no objection I shall take it that the Committee agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to announce that the Special Committee is organizing a round-table discussion, to be held this afternoon at 3 p.m. in Conference Room 7, in which special guests, as well as representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and non-governmental organizations will participate. The discussion will focus on the escalating violence and its impact on South African society and, in particular, on the negotiating process. I encourage all participants to attend the discussion, which will certainly provide us with a unique opportunity to exchange information and viewpoints on this important concern.

The meeting rose at 12 noon.